

Message Text

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SUBJ; FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST
BASES

1. NOVEMBER 5 ISSUE OF "LA VANGUARDIA ESPANOLA", HIGHLY
REGARDED INDEPENDENT BARCELONA NEWSPAPER, PUBLISHED FULL-
PAGE ARTICLE ON AFC NEGOTIATIONS WHICH BEGAN PREVIOUS
DAY. ARTICLE, WHICH HIGHLY CRITICAL OF PRESENT AGREE-
MENT, WAS WRITTEN BY FERNANDO CASTELLA, SPANISH
FOREIGN MINISTER 1956 TO 1969, WHO LEADING ACTOR IN 1963
AND 1968 BASE NEGOTIATIONS. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF
CASTIELLA'S SALIENT POINTS:

2. BECAUSE OF UNSETTLED WORLD CONDITIONS, MANY
SPANIARDS HAVE, SINCE BEFORE 1968, CONSIDERED A "TREATY"
WITH THE US AS "SINE QUA NON" IN GUARANTEEING SPAIN'S
SECURITY. MERE EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT IS INADMISSIBLE FOR
A SPAIN, WHICH IS GRATUITOUSLY ENDANGERED BY PROBLEMS NOT
HER OWN. FULL TREATY WITH REQUIRED BLESSING OF US SENATE
AND SPANISH SORTES IS ESSENTIAL.

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3. FULL TREATY OF CAPITAL IMPORTANCE TO THE MANY SPANIARDS

WHO ARE COMMITTED TO SOLID FRIENDSHIP WITH THE US, BUT WHO WISH TO AVOID THAT THIS ATTITUDE BE MISINTERPRETED AS DOCILE SUBSERVIENCE WHICH WOULD MAKE SPAIN MERE SATELLITE OF GREATEST AND STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH.

4. ARTICLE POINTS OUT THAT IN 1969 SENATOR FULBRIGHT ARGUED STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF TREATY IN PLACE OF AFC. IN SAME YEAR SENATOR SPARKMAN, WHO IS NOW MENTIONED AS SUCCESSOR TO FULBRIGHT ON FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AGREED TO ACCEPT IDEA OF AFC THEN BECAUSE OF AFRICA AND GIBRALTAR QUESTIONS, BUT STATED THAT MATTER OF TREATY WOULD BE LEFT FOR THE NEXT TIME, MEANING 1975.

5. THE ERA OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IS OVER. COUNTRIES MORE AND MORE REFUSING TO ACCEPT ENCLAVES FILLED WITH SECRETS AND DANGERS. BASES HERE; SINCE 1953, TODAY GIVE SPAIN MORE RISKS THAN PROTECTION. THEREFORE, SPAIN SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE VARIOUS AGREEMENTS IN OTHER FIELDS TO IMPEDE FIRM DECISION THAT BASES ON SPANISH SOIL MUST BE EXCLUSIVELY SPANISH. FOLLOWING ON THAT, BASIC NEGOTIATION POINT WITHIN THE MILITARY SPHERE SHOULD SIMPLY DEAL WITH "PRIVILEGE" OF THE US TO BE ABLE TO COUNT ON THE USE OF CERTAIN DEFENSIVE "FACILITIES", BUT ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ADEQUATE "JURIDICAL GUARANTEES" OF SPAIN'S DEFENSE.

6. SPANIARDS WILL ULTIMATELY LEARN MUCH ABOUT THE SIMPLE AGREEMENTS OF 1970, WHICH WERE SO HASTILY FORMULATED.

(A) THEY PROVIDE NO AGREEMENT, PUBLIC OR SECRET, WHICH GUARANTEES THE INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL "SECURITY" OF SPAIN. IN COMMUNIST-INSPIRED INSURRECTION, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WOULD BE NO PROTECTION FROM THE US. IN ADDITION TO NOT BEING BOUND TO DEFEND SPAIN, THE US FORCES ARE FREE TO DEPART WHENEVER THEY FEEL. MR. SPANISH CITIZEN CAN ASK HIMSELF THEN, "WHY DO WE NEED THEIR PRESENCE HERE?"

(B) IN SPITE OF COMMITMENT IN 1970 AGREEMENT TO IMPROVE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND AVOID ANY RESTRICTION OF NORMAL TRADE, SPAIN'S NEGATIVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BALANCE OF TRADE WITH US IS INCREASING, NOT TO MENTION THE SMALL SHRIMP WAR AND THE HARSH TREATMENT RECEIVED BY SPAIN'S OLIVES AND SHOES.

(C) THEN THERE IS THE IRRITATION CREATED BY THE LATE DELIVERY OF WAR MATERIAL, WHICH HAS BEEN IN GREAT PART OBSOLETE.

(D) AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THREE MILLION DOLLARS-- WHICH IS SO SMALL AS TO SEEM TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR-- WITH

WHICH THE US HAS FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENTS IN THE
FIELDS OF SCIENCE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, POLLUTION
CONTROL, URBAN PROBLEMS, AND EDUCATION REFORM.
(E) WE MIGHT ALSO ASK HOW THE US IS USING SPAIN'S
AIRSPACE, WATERS, AND LAND IN SERVICE OF AN ORGANIZATION
WHICH SCORNS US AND TO WHICH WE DO NOT EVEN BELONG.

7. WHEN THE US SPOKE IN 1969 OF "CERTAIN FACILITIES" FOR
THE AMERICANS, SPAIN NATURALLY THOUGHT IN TERMS OF A
CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION IN THE USE OF THE BASES COMPARED
TO THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT OF 1953. BUT SOMETHING QUITE
DIFFERENT HAS OCCURRED. ARE THE SPANIARDS, SO GENEROUS
AND TRUSTING, NOT MAKING A MISTAKE BY BEING PERHAPS
TOO EASY?

8. FINALLY, DURING THE YOM KIPPPUR WAR, SPAIN, A CLOSE
FRIEND OF THE ARABS, GAVE INDISPUTABLE ORDERS THAT HER
TERRITORY COULD NOT BE USED IN ANY WAY AS A PLATFORM FOR
US ASSISTANCE TO THE ISRAELI MILITARY. NEVERTHELESS,
NY TIMES REPORTED US TANKER AIRCRAFT FLEW FROM SPAIN'S
BASES TO REFUEL PLANES OVER THE MEDITERRANEAN WHICH
WERE BOUND FOR ISRAEL. INFORMATION COULD NOT BE FOUND
EITHER IN THE US OR SPAIN TO CONTRADICT THE NEWS OF THIS
TRANSGRESSION WHICH COULD HAVE CAUSED SPAIN SO MUCH DAMAGE.

9. COMMENT: CASTIELLA ARTICLE, WHICH FIRST TO APPEAR
UNDER HIS BY-LINE FOR SOME TIME, HAS BEEN REPRODUCED IN TOTO
OR EXCERPTED IN SEVERAL MAJOR DAILIES. IT HAS ALSO
SERVED AS POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR SUBSEQUENT EDITORIALS
AND COMMENTARY GENERALLY OPPOSING PRESENT TERMS OF BASES
AGREEMENT. RESONANCE OF ARTICLE HARDLY SURPRISING AS
CASTIELLA HAS COME TO BE REGARDED AS INTELLECTUAL APOSTLE
AND RALLYING POINT OF DISPARATE GROUPS WHO OPPOSE DEFENSE
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COOPERATION WITH US UNDER PRESENT TERMS, AND WHOSE ATTITUDES MOST
OFTEN REFLECTED IN EDITORIAL ATTITUDES OF MADRID DAILIES
"YA" AND "INFORMACIONES". WHILE CASTIELLA'S REMOVAL
FROM CABINET IN 1969 ATTRIBUTABLE TO VARIETY OF POLITICAL
FACTORS, MOST OF WHICH UNRELATED TO US-SPANISH RELATIONS,
HIS POPULAR IMAGE IN RECENT YEARS, WHICH HE HAS ENCOURAGED,
IS THAT OF MAN WHO ACCEPTED DISMISSAL RATHER THAN ACCEPT
UNFAVORABLE 1970 BASES AGREEMENT.
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